

workers' truth

Toward the International Party of Revolutionary Workers

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10 cents

1974 Steel Contract — Worse Than A Sellout

On April 12 the steel industry and the United Steel Workers settled on a new three year contract. With the sole bargaining agents consisting of union bureaucrats headed by I.W. Abel, and management representatives, the workers were excluded from representation in the negotiations.

Abel has already shown which side of the table he wants to sit on through recent actions. Abel is the same scum who put out a full page ad asking workers to speed up on production and end their "laziness". For Abel the interests of the company come first. Therefore Abel has appealed to workers to give more labor power to the American capitalists so they can compete better on the international market. As we stated in WORKERS' TRUTH, Vol. 1, No. 9, Nov. 1973:

In fact the bureaucrats want workers to accept slashes in real wages so they can see America remain a "first class economic power". However, America is not owned by the American people, that is workers and capitalists together. It is the sole property of the capitalist class. The only thing workers will gain by subordinating their own interests to the trade war struggles of U.S. imperialism is that they'll get to see their bosses drive bigger cars.

With the statements contained in Abel's magazine ads, one must ask: Are these the type of things a representative of the workers would say? Only a company agent would tell the workers they are lazy and tell them to pick up their productivity.

Considering the participants in negotiations, one could easily have anticipated the sellout contract which has been arrived at. With the cost of living estimated at rising more than 10% a year, Abel has insured workers in the steel industry that they will not

be able to have their wages keep up with inflation. An average steel worker makes \$5.88/hour. With the 67.2 cents increase in hourly pay for the next three years, that makes the workers receive a 10% rise in wages during three years while the cost of living will have risen over 30%. The escalator clause which provides a penny per hour raise for each 30% rise in the



I.W. Abel, Pres. of the Steel Workers speaks to a press conference

Consumer Price Index is barely worth anything.

Not only have Abel and the other bureaucrats presented the steel workers with this sellout contract, they have also insured themselves the power to shove it down the throats of the rank-and-file. Under the disgusting "experimental negotiating agreement", which Abel signed last year, there is a no-strike pledge. Just considering the way in which this no-strike pledge was forced through, it can be assumed that steel workers will have little voice in approving or disapproving the contract. Even if they are allowed to vote down the contract, they will be powerless against the companies to win a better contract. Without the right to strike, the union becomes useless. Again, as we have stated in WORKERS' TRUTH (Vol. 1, No. 6, Aug. 1973):

The only possession the workers have under capitalism is their labor power. This social power can best be exerted against the bourgeoisie through the strike, i.e. the withholding of labor power. The schema is quite simple: no labor power, no labor; no labor, no production; no production, no profits. Without fear of a strike the bourgeoisie has nothing to fear from the workers while

in contract negotiations.

Steelworkers must listen to the warning bells that are sounding as Abel and the other bureaucrats push the United Steel Workers farther along the track

of bourgeoisification (i.e. becoming instruments of the bourgeoisie). It is up to the rank and file workers to save the union from complete destruction. In the present episode of the capitalist economic cycle, workers will need the unions more than any other time to defend their basic needs and capitalist attacks on their living standard. However, they will need unions which are controlled by the rank and file and function in their interests or they might just as well have no unions at all.

The United Steel Workers along with all other unions must be won to a revolutionary program. Only under the leadership of the communist vanguard will the unions be able to participate in the struggle for the complete emancipation of all workers. If they are left to follow their present course they will become instruments of the class enemy and obstacles to the class struggle of the workers. Let the Abels stay with the bosses and managers. Drive them out of the labor movement!

Ed
Lee

9/3/74

Which Way for the Labor Movement?

The recent strike wave in San Francisco which began with the Sears retail clerks' strike and culminated with a near general strike of municipal workers, shows the combativity and militancy of a layer of the working class and semi-proletarian elements. The municipal workers' strike began virtually as a wildcat strike. Although a strike deadline had been set, chief negotiator and president of the San Francisco Labor Council, John Crowley, asked the workers to hold off and give "friend of labor" Mayor Joseph Alioto a chance to come up with something. The workers, however, took the strike deadline at its word and began setting up picket lines despite Crowley's objections. Other workers showed their solidarity with the strikers by refusing to cross roving picket lines and thus shutting down all sewage treatment facilities, hospitals and public transportation. The municipal workers were soon joined by the San Francisco American Federation of Teachers.

The municipal workers' strike, like the Sears strike before it and the teachers strike after it, was eventually sold out by the labor bureaucracy working hand in hand with Alioto. However, to have expected anything else would have been the sheerest folly. The labor bureaucrats (both the ins and the outs, both the "progressives" and the "reactionaries") see their task as defending the capitalist wage-labor system against the workers. They see the best way of doing this as deflecting workers' struggles against the rotten conditions of this society into attempts to snatch a few crumbs from the capitalists' table via paltry wage increases (8% for the San Francisco municipal workers). They would, of course, prefer a situation such as that existing in Russia, Japan or Israel, where the "unions" participate directly in the exploitation of the workers and work openly as fundamental cogs in the machinery of capitalist exploitation, where there is not even a fraudulent half-hearted attempt at the perverted form of the class struggle carried out by American and West European unions under pressure from the rank-and-file.

The recent strike wave in San Francisco has conjured up memories of the 1934 General Strike in the minds of most of America's ostensibly socialist groups. For instance, the Class Struggle League, in a leaflet entitled "San Francisco General Strike II Now" stated:

San Francisco workers who led the way to building the militant national unions of the thirties with the general strike of 1934 in support of the dockers, can now show the way for the American working people again by organizing San Francisco General Strike II!

...Sears workers will not only thereby get a decent contract but workers will have a strong basis for a Labor Party that can break the death grip of the Republican and Democrat shell game.

Here we see two errors (at least) in the short section quoted. First of all, general strikes are not called, they develop. The task of revolutionaries is not to run around screaming "general strike! general strike!" but to prepare the working class for the general strike. The working class must be prepared for the reaction of the capitalist state. In any situation where a general strike appears to be a definite possibility, revolutionaries must raise the

call for armed workers defense guards to defend the class against the attacks of the capitalist government and organized gangs of thugs of scabs. But for the CSL such preparation is not necessary; we simply run to the faucet marked "General Strike" and turn it on.

Secondly, general strike or no general strike, the Sears workers could not have gotten a truly decent contract (is there such an animal?). True, they could have gotten better than they did had they had a revolutionary leadership, but the only truly decent "contract" is the "contract" the working class makes with itself in a workers' republic, the "contract" of class solidarity and the fight for socialism.

Besides raising the spirit of the '34 general strike, the recent strikes in Frisco pose an important question for the entire labor movement. However, here again most of the American left has come up with an answer, but have failed to see the question and thus posed answers that are at best irrelevant and at worst reactionary. For instance, the Spartacist League sees the question as being:

...will the workers' anger and so far frustrated efforts to fight back against the capitalist inflation and "shortages" offensive be held in check by the labor bureaucracy or will the workers be able to smash through this obstacle and make major gains?

What are these "major gains" that can be made? And under what social system are they going to be made? Capitalism, perhaps? Or does the SL mean a victorious workers' revolution and socialism when it talks of "major gains"? And if so, why doesn't it come out and say so? The fact of the matter is that the SL thinks that major gains can be made under capitalism through nationalization and "workers' control" which is really trade union participation in management.

In reality every trade union struggle today represents a fight between the workers and the capitalist state, with the trade union bureaucrats on the side of the capitalists. The reason for this state vs. workers struggle is not simply the existence of wage controls. On the contrary, it is the attempt on the part of the state to take over the unions in collusion with the bureaucrats. It is only the militancy and combativeness of the workers which defers the culmination of this process. However, even militancy and combativeness will soon not be enough. There are only two courses open to the unions: revolutionization through adherence to an explicitly revolutionary program, the program of the Revolutionary Workers Group; or statification under the control of the capitalist state. The latter would be a tremendous setback for the labor movement. All workers must draw the lessons of the development of the unions and the role of the bureaucracy, and take up the struggle for revolutionary politics in the unions. This is the only way forward for the labor movement.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT!

JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS GROUP!

BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS!

FORWARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

FORWARD TO THE WORLDWIDE WORKERS' REPUBLIC!

Correction

In the February 1974 issue of WORKERS' TRUTH (Vol. 2, No. 2) in the article "On Tactics" we criticized the Class Struggle League for failing to send any representatives to a Spartacist League initiated demonstration in solidarity with the striking British miners. It has since come to our attention that the Class Struggle League in fact did not know about the demonstration until after it happened. This is clearly conceivable as the Spartacist preparations for the demonstration were haphazard at best as we pointed out in the article.

Ron & Jesse

ACAPULCO, Mexico, April 2 (AP)--Gov. Ronald Reagan and the Rev. Jesse Jackson ended a spirited, impromptu debate on racism in America with a black hand and a white hand gripped in a firm

handshake.

"We're saying a lot of the same things," Jackson, the black leader from Chicago, told Reagan, the Republican chief executive from California.

"We sure are," Reagan replied.

If you're shocked at the above exchange, don't be. Jackson and Reagan do say the same things, they just put different flavor coatings on their capitalist sugar pills: Reagan in order to stir up white backlash sentiments and Jackson in order to derail the struggles of militant black workers. However, Jackson's respect for Reagan who was prepared to send in National Guard troops against striking municipal workers in San Francisco, should rip the facade away from Jackson's professed support for postal workers who are faced with massive layoffs in Chicago. Jackson and Reagan DO say the same things and none of it is of any good for working people, black or white.

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Should the United Auto Workers

Reaffiliate With the AFL-CIO?

TRADE UNIONS TODAY is a regular feature of WORKERS' TRUTH. Future issues will contain articles dealing with the problems facing various individual trade unions as well as issues relating to all trade unions. This month's article is a statement of the views of the Revolutionary Workers Group concerning the current discussion in the United Auto Workers on whether or not to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO.

In 1968 Walter Reuther pulled the United Auto Workers out of the AFL-CIO. Today the UAW bureaucracy is discussing whether or not the 1.5 million member union should reaffiliate. The question may come up for a vote at the UAW national convention scheduled for June 1 in Los Angeles.

We understand that any move by the union bureaucrats is made because they feel some benefit will result for them. The needs of the rank-and-file are the farthest thing from their minds. Nevertheless we are in favor of reaffiliation. We are basically in favor of such a move for two reasons: 1) such a move provides the objective basis for a unified revolutionary union movement; 2) it lessens the ability of the bureaucrats to play each other off, one union against the other.

As far as the first point goes, it is true that only the OBJECTIVE basis for a unified revolutionary labor movement is provided by the existence of a single union federation. However, revolutionaries should support such a development. There is only one reason why an ostensibly revolutionary group should oppose affiliation and that is if they see either the UAW or the AFL-CIO or both as capitalist formations. In that case unification of the two union groupings would simply be a continuation of the process of concentration and centralization of capital and its institutions. The Revolutionary Workers Group however, does not agree with the various anarchist and ultraleft groups who see the American unions as organs of capitalist repression. While it is true that the union bureaucrats are agents of the capitalists, they are agents IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT. The bourgeoisification of the unions is a process, which develops at different rates in different countries. While the unions have become capitalist formations in many countries (e.g. Russia, China, Cuba, Israel, Peru, Japan) this process has not yet culminated in the U.S. Thus, so long as the American trade unions remain working class organizations (even bureaucratized), revolutionaries should support their unification.

There is, however, an exception to this. That is where a large section of the class remains unorganized or has achieved a revolutionary consciousness and the dominant union organizations refuse to organize them or place extremely stringent restrictions on the ability of the revolutionary unions to function. Thus, the organizing of the CIO unions in the 1930's (these were not revolutionary unions) was a step forward. The ossified craft union bureaucrats of the AFL thought it beneath their dignity

to organize unskilled and semi-skilled workers into "their" unions. Thus it was necessary to organize industrial unions independently of the AFL.

There are some groups (notably the Spartacist League) who have opposed union mergers (which are not exactly the same as affiliation to a federation, but similar) on the basis of "democracy". For example the Spartacists opposed the merger of the New York Social Service Employees Union

with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the merger of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (on the West Coast) with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT).

There are no truly democratic unions in the U.S. (or the world for that matter). The rank-and-file doesn't run the ILWU any more than the rank-and-file runs the Teamsters. Harry Bridges is as much in support of the working class as Frank Fitzsimmons (zero). He's just a little slicker, likelier to talk more out of the left side of his mouth. At this stage of the game he's a far more useful tool than the heavy-handed Mafia confidant Fitzsimmons.

This, in fact, is the core of our second point: the use of "left" bureaucrats and their unions as a means of derailing militant workers and their struggles. Bridges wants ILWU members to think that their union is better than the IBT. His proposal for merger was just so much facade. By thinking that the ILWU is better than the IBT, longshoremen will not be in as good a position to unite with rank-and-file Teamsters to replace BOTH Bridges and Fitzsimmons with revolutionary leaders drawn from the ranks and pledged to an anti-capitalist program. It is precisely what the capitalists want that groups like the SL are doing: being sucked into support (open, critical, backhanded or otherwise) of fake "left" bureaucrats like Bridges.

Another example is Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers. If the Teamsters were affiliated with the AFL-CIO, chances are there would not be any major confrontation between Chavez and the Teamster bureaucracy. The same sellout deals would be made through Meany. The same rotten contracts would be negotiated; but Chavez would not come out looking like the champion of the Mexican-American working man and woman (which he is not). Revolutionaries in the unions would still, of course, have to wage a struggle against Fitzsimmons and Cha-

vez, but one of Chavez's props would be missing.

Of course, the UAW bureaucracy is not for affiliation because they want to see the objective basis for a revolutionary union movement or because they want to see some of the shells taken away from their con game. They have their own interests at heart. Although he has not come out with a public statement, it is generally agreed that UAW president Leonard Woodcock is in favor of affiliation. He is reputed as saying this would make a stronger union movement. However, the only strength Woodcock wants for the union movement is vote-catching and Democratic Party-preserving strength. Woodcock almost got the nod as Democratic Vice-President candidate in 1972. He no doubt figures that with a spot on the AFL-CIO executive board he'll have a large enough power base to win the nomination in '76.

Opposing the move is UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey. Mazey is trying to outflank Woodcock from the left by reviving the "militant" ghost of Walter Reuther. Reuther claimed that the AFL-CIO had become "the comfortable complacent custodian of the status quo." He called for a campaign of organizing unorganized workers. Mazey says, "I don't think anything's changed. We're betraying and repudiating our principles if we reaffiliated now." However, Mazey's opposition obviously lies somewhere else in reality (we haven't seen Mazey doing much to organize the unorganized and wage militant struggles; where was Emil during the Chrysler wildcats last summer?). As secretary-treasurer of a major independent union Mazey is a big fish in a little pond. However, affiliation to the AFL-CIO would diminish Mazey's own political role nationally. Mazey (like Reuther before him) is looking out for the "old number 1" and in Mazey's eyes that's not the working man but Emil Mazey.

Whether or not the UAW affiliates with the AFL-CIO, a revolutionary struggle must be waged inside the UAW and the AFL-CIO and all other unions to transform the unions into instruments of working class revolution, unions which will adopt as their program the program of revolutionary Marxism, unions which will inscribe on their banner the words of Rosa Luxemburg: we know nothing of minimum and maximal programs; we know only one thing, socialism; this is the minimum we are going to secure.

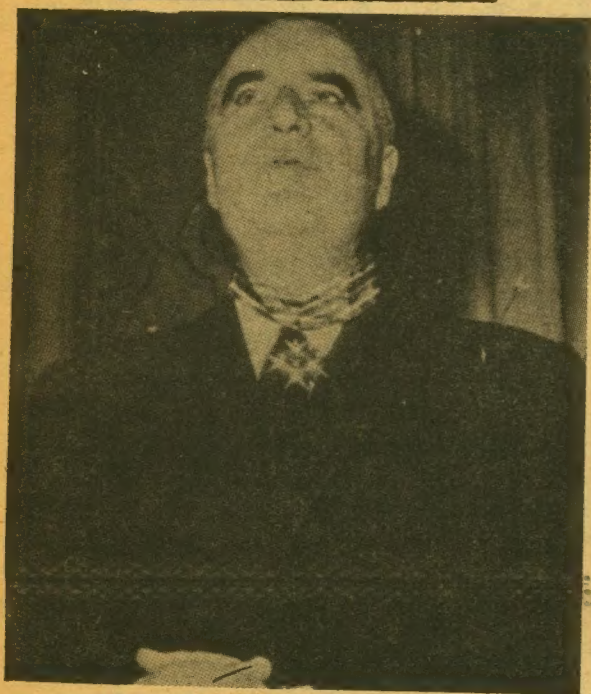
Revolutionary Workers Group Program for the Trade Unions

- * INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THE STATE!
- * DEMOCRATIC RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS!
- * NO SUPPORT TO CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS!
- * INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!
- * DIVIDE ALL AVAILABLE WORK AMONG ALL THOSE ABLE TO WORK--FOR DIRECT DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES!
- * ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED AND THE UNEMPLOYED!
- * ARMED WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS!
- * END THE SPECIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN!
- * END THE SPECIAL OPPRESSION OF BLACKS, LATINS AND OTHER MINORITIES!
- * END COMPANY-CONTROLLED SENIORITY SYSTEMS--FULL RIGHTS FOR YOUNG WORKERS!
- * NATIONALIZATION OF ALL INDUSTRY, TRANSPORTATION, ETC. UNDER THE COLLECTIVE CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS!
- * BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS (FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)!
- * A WORKERS' REPUBLIC!

French President Pompidou Dies

Mitterand, Gaullists Engage in Electoral War of the French Succession

At the time this article was written, Edgar Faure, head of the Radical Socialists, a minority party in the ruling Gaullist coalition, was still in the race for president of France. Subsequently, however, Faure withdrew from the race, leaving Chaban-Delmas and d'Estaing as the major fighters for the Gaullist vote. Also since this article was written, the Minister of the Postal Service has entered the race as the "independent candidate of the small businessman." The elections are scheduled for May 5.



Georges Pompidou

With the death of Georges Pompidou, the Gaullist coalition which has ruled France since 1958 has begun to show signs of cracking. Pompidou, who inherited the mantle of leadership from the old man (DeGaulle) himself in 1968, had been able to maintain the unity of the Gaullist coalition and to a large extent stabilize the capitalist state after the near catastrophic (for the capitalists) events during May-June 1968 which nearly toppled the Gaullist regime.

His recent death, however, has created a void, and with no clear successor to the throne, has sent the leaders of the various Gaullist factions into a headlong scramble for the presidency.

Three Gaullist candidates have emerged to date. They are: Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Finance Minister under Pompidou and leader of the Independent Republicans; Edgar Faure, head of the Radical Socialists; and Jacques Chaban-Delmas, who has the support of the majority Gaullist party.

The apparent split within the Gaullist coalition severely jeopardizes their ability to maintain control of the French government and definitely enhances the chances of the Union de la Gauche (Union of the Left) candidate Francois Mitterand. In an attempt to avert such a Gaullist disaster, Prime Minister Pierre Messmer called on the three Gaullist candidates to withdraw and throw their support behind him as a "unity candidate". Both minority candidates agreed to support Messmer in a bid to block Chaban-Delmas and the majority Gaullists. But

when Chaban-Delmas refused to withdraw, Messmer withdrew from the race leaving the coalition split three ways and opening the door for a possible first ballot victory for Mitterand.

"UNION OF THE LEFT"--POPULAR FRONTISM 1970'S STYLE

Francois Mitterand, head of the PSF (Parti Socialiste Francais--French Socialist Party) is the candidate of the Union of the Left, a popular front consisting of the PSF, the PCF (Parti Communiste Francais--French Communist Party) and various Left Radicals.

The Union of the Left was formed just prior to the last general elections in France (March 1973) and was a direct response to the growing politicalization of the French working class, and the increasing inability of the ruling Gaullist regime to contain that politicalization within the

framework of capitalist electoral politics. THIS IS THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE POPULAR FRONT.

The leadership of the PSF and the PCF realized that their failure to offer any political alternative in the light of considerable working-class militancy involved a real danger of larger and larger strata of the working class turning toward revolutionary solutions to find a way out of the social crisis.

Thus both leaderships felt a need for getting together on a solution that could channel the discontent of the masses and their aspirations for a profound change into a reformist framework and in a way that would benefit them (the PSF and PCF), and stabilize the capitalist state. In this respect there is no objective difference between the Union of the Left and the Popular Front of 1936.

But it is not only the programmatic and historical similarities which make the Union of the Left a popular front. Reformist working class parties (British Labour Party) play the same role and have similar programs. The fundamental factor delineating the nature of a popular front is the fact that



Jacques Chaban-Delmas, front-running Gaullist

it is a bloc between a working class party and a capitalist party. Thus, the bloc between the PCF and the PSF (at that time a working class party)

with the Radical Party in 1936 made that coalition a popular front, a

class collaborationist bloc. However, despite the protestations of certain left groups, it is not simply the miniscule presence of the Left Radicals which makes the Union of the Left a popular front (although it would be sufficient), but also the more imposing presence of Mitterand and the PSF, which has over the years been trans-



Left, Alain Krivine, ROUGE candidate
Right Francois Mitterand, candidate of the Union of the Left

formed into a capitalist party. For those who squirm at this characterization of the PSF we refer to a polemic by Henri Weber of the French United Secretariat paper ROUGE. Weber was supporting a vote for all Union of the Left candidates (including the Left Radicals) in the 1973 elections. The Lambertist Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI--Internationalist Communist Organization) on the other hand, claimed that the Left Radicals were bourgeois and that only the PSF and PCF candidates should receive the workers' votes because they were working class parties. Weber wrote:

...why does the AJS-OCI call for a vote for the SP? Do the Lambertists think there are fewer bankers, corporation presidents, administrators, and high functionaries in the SP than among the left Radicals?

(ROUGE, Jan. 13, 1973)

However, a PCF candidate run independently of the PSF and the Left Radicals would not be of any help to the working class. Nor is the essentially irrelevant campaign of ROUGE's Alain Krivine. History has shown the futility of attempting to effect working class gains through the capitalists' elections. It is only through indepen-

dent working class action that French workers and workers everywhere will be able to take things into their own hands. The elections represent an attempt to defuse the movement of the workers in this direction.

There is, however, another side to the electoral process. That is the working out of the differences of the various capitalist factions. There are intra-class differences between Mitterand and the Gaullists. Both camps have different views on how to best defend the interests of French capital, both against the French workers

and on the international arena. Thus, should Mitterand win, France will no doubt face new general elections very soon. Mitterand as president with a cabinet composed of Union of the Left ministers, coupled with a Gaullist-dominated National Assembly, could not function indefinitely.

However, whether the president of France is d'Estaing, Chaban-Delmas, Faure, Mitterand or even Krivine, the plight of the French working class will be the same. They will continue to sweat for the benefit of France's rulers. They will continued to be mur-

dered by the hired guns of the capitalists. And things would not change if elections were held every day. The only way things will change is through workers' revolution. Thus, it is to the construction of a revolutionary party which can provide the necessary leadership, so sorely lacking in 1968, that militant French workers and students must turn.

NOT THE UNION DE LA GAUCHE, BUT A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY!
NOT CAPITALIST ELECTION, BUT WORKERS' REVOLUTION!

Japan—General Strike or General Holiday?

Of all the major "free world" countries, Japan is probably farthest along the road to state capitalism (a la Russia and China). In Japan the "labor unions" function as an essential part of the capitalist apparatus. Take for instance the recent 6 million worker transportation "general strike". This "strike" was an excellent example of how wage "negotiations" are carried out in Japan. First a big push is made for productivity, with the "unions" playing a major role in the mechanics of achieving productivity increases, disciplining the workers and managing factory production. When "negotiations" come around, the "union" leaders and the more classical management personnel get together to talk things over. If the union leaders want higher wages than what the management wants to give, there is a "strike". When the railroad "union"

called a "strike" this month, the major businesses and industries in Japan promptly declared a holiday. The twin pillars of management (white collar and "union") continued their negotiations and the railroad workers received a 30 per cent pay raise. The catch, however, lies in the fact that this pay raise barely covers the rapidly spiralling Japanese inflation for the past year. Food prices are up 24.5 per cent in just the last year and are rising faster every day. Japan's prices and inflation are the highest in the world.

Many Japanese realize that the economy is only expanding and becoming affluent for the Japanese businessmen. The Japanese workers' living standard continues to deteriorate. Thanks to the management role of Japanese "unions" the Japanese workers sweat out more production at the same

time that food is literally being swept from their tables.

What the Japanese working class needs is not paltry 30 per cent wage increases (which mean that six months from now they'll be able to eat just a little poorer than they are now instead of quite a bit poorer), but a revolutionary labor movement to be counterposed to the phony "unions" that exist today. Such a movement must have as its core and its impetus, a revolutionary party, steered in the class struggle, rooted in the working class and possessing a Marxist clarity of theory and program. No such party or movement exists in Japan today. It is the task of militant Japanese workers to begin their construction. The future belongs to the working class. We must only organize ourselves to take it.

BRITAIN

Wilson Continues Attacks on Workers

As we predicted, the British Labour Party has resumed the basic policies of the Tories which are the only policies possible in the present capitalist crisis. Although resuming the attack on workers' living standards, Wilson has taken a different approach from that of Heath. The quick settlement of the miners' strike was done in order to create a better atmosphere for Wilson's strategy. Instead of being forced to accept cuts in their living standard through a state wage freeze, workers will now face union bureaucrats (trying to help the Labour government retain bourgeois respectability) pushing a voluntary wage freeze (in the interests of the "nation", of course).

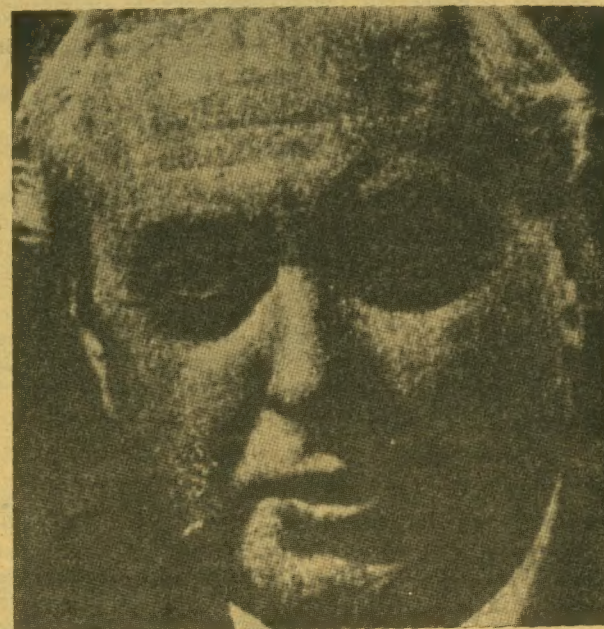
There has been no real turnover or change in British society since Labour has come to power (nor will there be through any of Wilson's actions). In fact, as the CHARTIST states in its latest issue:

The rises in taxation, electricity, rail fares, postal charges, beer, cigarettes and sweets are serious

warning to the working class. Add to this the decision not to reverse Tory cuts in spending and it amounts to a renewed attack on living standards.

One wonders why the CHARTIST called on British workers to vote for the Labour Party.

Among the more disgusting actions of the new Labour government is the retaining of the "Industrial Relations Act". Under this act the engineers union, the AUEW, has been fined another 47,000 pounds of compensation to the



Which of these men is the head of Britain's Labour Party, "representative" of the British workingman? Which one is the reactionary proponent of "anti-working class Tory policies"?

Answers in next month's issue.

reactionary Con-Mech Co. which it has been fighting.

The future of the present Labour government is questionable considering the fact that it does not have enough votes in Parliament to win a vote of confidence. However, so long as it continues to carry out Tory policies, we can't think of anyone who would call for such a vote. Just the same, however, should new elections come about, the left in England would no doubt again make idiots of themselves by giving support to the Labour Party (as a vote against reactionary Tory policies) when they can plainly see that the Labour Party is carrying out precisely those policies. It should be clear to all those in England who claim to be Marxists that it makes no difference who wins the elections in England. The elections are essentially irrelevant insofar as the working class struggle against capital is concerned. If Marxists are going to raise the consciousness of the working class and not tail it, they must point this out and call for abstention from the elections and the organization of independent struggles on the part of the workers, not "Labour to Power on a Socialist Program".

What is needed most in England today is not the carrying out of the Labour Party's program or the adoption of a "socialist" program of nationalizing 200 or 20 monopolies, but the turning of the workers to a revolutionary program. In order for this to happen, a communist vanguard of the working class must be developed which can prepare the working class for the real battle.



Archives of the Revolution



Program of the Spartacusbund

ARCHIVES OF THE REVOLUTION is a regular feature of WORKERS' TRUTH. Each month we reprint for the benefit of our readers part or all of a particular speech, article or document from the vast and rich heritage of the revolutionary Marxist movement. In this issue we reprint the "Program of the Spartacusbund". This document, drafted by Rosa Luxemburg, was first published in December 1918 under the title "What Does the Spartacusbund Want?" It was adopted as the programmatic basis for

the German Communist Party at its founding conference (Dec. 1918-Jan. 1919). The Spartacusbund was the direct descendent of the INTERNATIONALE Group whose "Theses on the Tasks of International Social-Democracy" we reprinted in our last issue. The document below represents one of the finest expressions of revolutionary optimism and understanding of the tasks before the international working class. Although written over fifty years ago, many of

its words sound as if they had been penned only yesterday. In its understanding of the development of capitalism, the tasks of the working class and the work of the revolutionary party, the Spartacusbund stands with the Russian Bolshevik Party and the "Abstentionist Faction" of the Italian Socialist Party as the highest expression of revolutionary Marxism in the international workers' movement in the period of 1914-1920.

On the 9th of November, 1918, the workers and soldiers of Germany overthrew the old regime. The bloody dream of subjecting the world to the domination of militarism vanished like smoke on the battlefields of France. The band of criminals who kindled the world conflagration and drove Germany into the sea of blood reached on that day the end of their career. The people, who were deceived for four years, and, in the service of Moloch, forgot their duties as

cultured people, lost all sense of honor and humanity, and allowed themselves to be used in connection with any base act, finding themselves on the brink of an abyss, awakened from the stupor in which they were for more than four years.

On the 9th of November the German workers arose to throw off the disgraceful yoke. The Hohenzollerns were driven out; soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies were elected.

But the Hohenzollerns were never more than the agents of the imperialist capitalists and junkers. The class rule of the capitalists—that was the real cause of the World War in Germany and France, in Russia and England, in Europe and America. The capitalists of all countries—these are the real initiators of the slaughter of peoples. International capitalism is the insatiable Moloch into whose bloody jaws are thrown millions upon millions of fresh human sacrifices.

The World War confronted society with a choice of two alternatives: either the continued existence of capitalism, with its consequent new wars and inevitable and speedy destruction due to chaos and anarchy, or the abolition of capitalist exploitation.

With the end of the World War the class rule of the capitalists lost its right to existence. It is no longer capable of leading society out of the terrible economic chaos which the imperialist orgy has left in its wake.

The means of production were destroyed to a frightful extent. Millions of workers, the best and the soundest element of the working class, were slaughtered. Those left alive, upon returning home, will receive the mock welcome of poverty and unemployment. Starvation and disease threaten to sap the remaining strength of the people. Financial bankruptcy, as a consequence of the crushing burden of war debts, is inevitable.

Only socialism can save the people from this bloody chaos, this gaping abyss. There is no other way. Only the worldwide proletarian revolution can establish order in place of this anarchy, put an end to the mutual extermination of the peoples, provide work and bread for all, and bring peace, freedom, and true culture to tortured humanity. "Down with wage labor!" Such is the battle cry of the day. Wage labor and class rule must give way to work on a cooperative basis. The means of production must cease to be the monopoly of a class; they must become the common property of all. The present system of production, which is nothing but exploitation and robbery, must be abolished. No more exploiters or exploited. Production and the distribution of products must be regulated in the interests of the nation as a whole.

Instead of masters and wage slaves there will be free fellow workers! Labor will cease to be a burden for anybody when it becomes the duty of all. An existence worthy of men will be assured to all who fulfill their duty toward society. Hunger will cease to be the curse of workers; it will be the punishment for idlers.

Only in such a society can slavery and mutual hatred among nations be destroyed. Only when such a society is established will the earth cease to be outraged by fratricidal conflicts. Only then shall we be able to say: "We have seen the end of war."

II

The establishment of the socialist order of society is the greatest task that ever fell to the lot of a class and of a revolution in the course of human history. This task involves the complete reconstruction of the state and an entire change in the social and economic foundation of society.

This change and this reconstruction cannot be accomplished by a decree issued by some officials, committee, or parliament. They can only be accomplished by the mass of the people themselves.

In all preceding revolutions it was a small minority of people

who conducted the revolutionary struggle. This minority determined the goal, gave direction to the fight, and used the masses only as tools to secure victory for their own interests, the interests of the minority. The socialist revolution is the first revolution which can secure victory for and through the great majority of the workers themselves.

It is the task of the proletarian mass not only clearly and consciously to determine the aim and direction of the revolution. It must also establish socialism step by step through its own activity.

The main feature of the socialist society is to be found in the fact that the great mass of workers will cease to be a governed mass, but, on the contrary, will itself live the full political and economic life and direct that life in conscious and free self-determination.

Therefore the proletarian mass must substitute its own class organs—the workers' and soldiers' councils—for the inherited organs of capitalist class rule—the federal councils, municipal councils, parliaments—applying this principle from the highest authority in the state to the smallest community. The proletarian mass must fill all governmental positions, must control all functions, must test all requirements of the state on the touchstone of socialist aims and the interests of its own class.

Only by means of a constant, mutual action upon each other on the part of the masses and their organs—the soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies—can their activity fill the state with a socialist spirit.

Likewise, economic reconstruction can go only as a process carried on by the mass action of the working class.

Mere decrees on socialization issued by high revolutionary authorities are of no more value than empty sounds. Only the working class, by its own efforts, can change these sounds into actuality. Only in a stubborn fight with capital, face to face in every enterprise, by their own direct pressure, by means of strikes, and by creating their permanent representative organs, can the workers secure control and, finally, the actual administration of production.

The workers must learn to transform themselves from mere machines, which the capitalist employs in the process of production, into free, active, thinking leaders of this process. They must acquire the sense of responsibility of active members of the commonwealth, which alone is the owner of all social wealth. They must develop zeal at work, without the whip of the employer, the highest productivity without the spur of capitalist drivers, discipline without yoke, and order without domination. Highest idealism in the peoples' interest, strictest self-discipline, true civic spirit of the masses—these constitute the moral basis of a socialist society, just as stupidity, egotism, and corruption are the moral basis of capitalism.

These socialist civic virtues, as also knowledge and the ability to conduct socialist industries, can be acquired by the workers only by personal activity and personal experience.

The socialization of society can be accomplished to the fullest extent only by the persistent and uninterrupted struggle of the workers at all points where labor and capital, the people and the class rule of the bourgeoisie, meet face to face.

The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves.²

III

In bourgeois revolutions bloodshed, terror, and political murder were the indispensable weapons of the rising classes.

The proletarian revolution requires no terror for the realization of its aims; it looks upon manslaughter with hatred and aversion. It has no need for such means because the struggle it conducts is not against individuals but against institutions. It enters the arena with no naïve illusions, the dispersal of which would prompt it to have recourse to revenge. The proletarian revolution is not the desperate attempt of a minority forcibly to transform the world in accordance with its own ideal. On the contrary, it is the action of great masses, of millions of people, called upon to carry out their historic mission and to make a reality of what has become an historic necessity.

But the proletarian revolution is at the same time also the death knell of all slavery and oppression. This is the reason

why the capitalists, junkers, petty bourgeoisie and officers, and the beneficiaries and parasites of exploitation and class rule, are rising like one man to fight to the death against the proletarian revolution.

It is madness to suppose that the capitalists will submit voluntarily to the socialist verdict of a parliament or a national assembly, that they will calmly surrender their property, their profits, their privileges of exploitation. All ruling classes have fought obstinately to the end for their privileges. The Roman patricians, as well as the feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the English nobles and the American slave owners, the boyars (large estate owners) of Wallachia and the silk manufacturers of Lyons—all shed rivers of blood. They trampled upon corpses, they committed murder, arson, and state treason, they precipitated civil war for the purpose of defending their privileges and power.

The imperialist capitalist class, as the last offspring of the caste of exploiters, surpasses all its predecessors as far as brutality, open cynicism, and rascality are concerned.

It will defend its "holy of holies"—its profits and privileges of exploitation—tooth and nail. It will defend them with the cold-blooded viciousness which it manifested during the history of its colonial policy and during the last World War. It will move heaven and hell against the workers. It will mobilize the peasantry against the industrial workers. It will set the backward elements of the proletariat against the vanguard of socialism. It will get its officers to commit massacres. It will attempt to nullify socialist measures by a hundred and one methods of passive resistance. It will put in the way of the revolution twenty uprisings à la Vandée. To save itself it will invoke the assistance of the foreign enemy, the murderous armed force of a Clemenceau, a Lloyd George, or a Wilson. It will sooner turn the country into a smoking heap of ruins than voluntarily relinquish its power to exploit the working class.

This resistance must be put down with an iron hand, with the utmost energy. The power of the bourgeois counter-revolution must be met by the revolutionary power of the working class. The plots, schemes, and intrigues of the capitalist class must be countered by the ceaseless vigilance, clearness of vision, and readiness of the proletarian mass for action at any moment. The threatening dangers of counter-revolution must be met by the arming of the people and the disarming of the ruling classes. The obstructionist maneuvers in Parliament on behalf of the capitalist class must be met by the active organization of the workers and soldiers. The presence of the bourgeoisie everywhere and the thousands of means at its command must be overcome by the concentrated compact power of the working class developed to the highest possible degree. Only the united front of the entire German proletariat—the South German with the North German, the city workers with the agricultural workers, the working men with the soldiers—and the living spiritual bond of the German revolution with the International, the elevation of the German revolution to the height of the world revolution of the proletariat, can create the granite foundation upon which the structure of the future must be based.

The struggle for socialism is the greatest civil war in history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare for this civil war the necessary weapons; it must learn to use them—to fight and to conquer.

By arming the compact mass of working people with full political power for the purposes of the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat is established and therefore the true democracy. True democracy, democracy that does not defraud the people, does not exist where the wage slave sits in would-be equality with the capitalist, or the farmhand with the landowner, in order to debate in parliamentary manner over questions most vital to them—true democracy is to be found only where the mass of the workers take the entire power of government into their toil-hardened hands in order to wield it over the heads of the ruling classes as the god Thor wielded his hammer.

To enable the proletariat to solve this problem the Spartacus Union demands:

- I. As Immediate Means for Making the Revolution Secure.
 1. The disarming of the entire police force, of all officers, as well as of the non-proletarian soldiers.

2. The seizure of all supplies of arms and ammunition, as well as of all war industries, by the workers' and soldiers' councils.
3. The arming of the entire adult male population as the workers' militia. The formation of a red guard of the workers, as the active part of the militia, for the effective protection of the revolution against counter-revolutionary plots and risings.
4. Abolition of the commanding power of the officers and non-commissioned officers. The substitution of the voluntary discipline of the soldiers for the old brutal barracks discipline. Election of all superiors by the rank and file, with the right to recall these superiors at any time. Abolition of courts-martial.
5. The removal of all officers and ex-officers from the soldiers' councils.
6. Substitution of authorized representatives (Vertrauens-maenner) of the workers' and soldiers' councils for all political organs and authorities of the old regime.
7. Creation of a revolutionary tribunal to try the men chiefly responsible for the war and its prolongation, namely, the two Hohenzollerns, Ludendorff, Hindenburg, Tirpitz, and their fellow-criminals, as well as all conspirators of the counterrevolution.
8. Immediate seizure of all means of subsistence to secure provisions for the people.

On the Political and Social Field.

1. Abolition of all separate states; a united German Socialist Republic.
2. Removal of all parliaments and municipal councils, their functions to be taken over by the workers' and soldiers' councils and by the committees and organs of the latter bodies.
3. Election of workers' councils all over Germany by the entire adult population of working people of both sexes in cities and rural districts, along the lines of industries, and election of soldiers' councils by the soldiers, excluding the officers and ex-officers. The right of workers and soldiers to recall their representatives at any time.
4. Election all over Germany of delegates from the workers' and soldiers' councils to the Central Council of the w. and s. councils; the Central Council to elect the Executive Council as the highest organ of legislative and executive power. For the present the Central Council is to be convened at least every three months—the delegates to be reelected each time—for the constant control of the activity of the Executive Council and for the establishment of a living contact of the bulk of the workers' and soldiers' councils in the country with their highest organ of government. The right of local w. and s. councils at any time to recall their representatives on the Central Council and send new ones in their stead in case the former do not act in accordance with the will of their constituents. The right of the Executive Council to appoint or remove the people's representatives as well as the central au-

thorities of the land.

5. Abolition of all class distinctions, titles, and orders; complete legal and social equality of the sexes.
6. Radical social legislation, reduction of working hours to avoid unemployment and to conform to the physical exhaustion of the working class occasioned by the World War; limitation of the working day to six hours.
7. Immediate, thorough change of the policy with regard to food, housing, health, and education in the spirit of the proletarian revolution.

III. Further Economic Demands.

1. Confiscation of all crown estates and revenues for the benefit of the people.
2. Annulment of the state debts and other public debts, as well as all war loans, except those subscribed within a certain limited amount, this limit to be fixed by the Central Council of the w. and s. councils.
3. Expropriation of the land held by all large and medium-sized agricultural concerns; establishment of socialist agricultural cooperatives under a uniform central administration all over the country. Small peasant holdings to remain in possession of their present owners, until they voluntarily decide to join the socialist agricultural cooperatives.
4. Nationalization by the Republic of Councils of all banks, ore mines, coal mines, as well as all large industrial and commercial establishments.
5. Confiscation of all property exceeding a certain limit, the limit to be fixed by the Central Council.
6. The Republic of Councils to take over all public means of transport and communication.
7. Election of administrative councils in all enterprises, such councils to regulate the internal affairs of the enterprises in agreement with the workers' councils, regulate the conditions of labor, control production, and, finally, take over the administration of the enterprise.
8. Establishment of a Central Strike Committee which, in constant cooperation with the industrial councils, shall secure for the strike movement throughout the country uniform administration, socialist direction, and most effective support by the political power of the w. and s. councils.

IV. International Problems.

Immediate establishment of connections with the sister parties abroad in order to place the socialist revolution upon an international basis and to secure and maintain peace through international brotherhood and the revolutionary rising of the international working class.

IV

This is what the Spartacus Union stands for! And because it wants this, because it calls for it, struggles for it, because it is the socialist conscience of the revolution—it is hated, persecuted, and slandered by all open and secret

enemies of the revolution and of the working class.

"Crucify him!" call the capitalists, trembling for fear of losing their moneybags.

"Crucify him!" call the petty bourgeoisie, the officers, the anti-Semites, the press lackeys of the capitalist class, trembling for the fleshpots of capitalist class rule.

"Crucify him!" call men like Scheidemann who, like Judas Iscariot, have sold the workers to the capitalist class and are trembling for the shekels of their political power.

"Crucify him!" repeat, like an echo, the duped, the deceived, the misled elements of workers and soldiers, who do not know that they are attacking their own flesh and blood when they attack the Spartacus Union.

In hatred and slander are united against the Spartacus Union all who are counterrevolutionists, enemies of the people, anti-socialists, all who are ambiguous, confused, afraid of light. This only proves that the heart of the revolution is beating in the Spartacus Union, that the future belongs to us.

The Spartacus Union is no party wanting to climb into power on the shoulders of the mass of workers. The Spartacus Union is only the conscious party of the proletariat. At every turn it calls the attention of the general body of workers to their historic duties. At every stage of the revolution it fights for the final goal of socialism, and in all national questions it represents the interests of the international revolutionary working class.

The Spartacus Union refuses to share government power with the lackeys of the capitalist class, the Scheidemann-Ebert element, because it sees in such cooperation an act of treason against the basic principles of socialism, an act calculated to paralyze the revolution and strengthen its enemies.

The Spartacus Union will also refuse to take over the power of government merely because the Scheidemann-Ebert element have completely discredited themselves and the Independent Socialist party, through cooperation with them, has reached a blind alley.

The Spartacus Union will never take over the power of government otherwise than by a clear manifestation of the unquestionable will of the great majority of the proletarian mass of Germany. It will only take over the power of government by the conscious approval by the mass of the workers of the principles, aims, and tactics of the Spartacus Union.

The proletarian revolution can reach full clearness and ripeness only by struggling gradually, step by step, along the Golgotha path of the workers' own bitter experiences through defeats and victories.

The victory of the Spartacus Union is not in the beginning but at the end of the revolution: it is identical with the victory of the great mass of the socialist working class.

Arise, proletarians! To the battle! We have to struggle against a world, to conquer a world.

In this last class struggle of history for the highest aims of humanity our motto toward the enemy is: "Hand on throat and knee on the breast!"

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...Fighting from page 8

and the dismantling of the present state apparatus. This is also necessary here in the United States. It is not enough to simply replace the politicians of the capitalist parties in government with representatives of "Labor" Parties (see England), nor is it enough to replace one set of capitalist exploiters with a set of "Communist" bureaucrats who play the SAME role as the "old" exploiters. The working class in all countries must destroy the capitalist system itself in its entirety and replace it with a producer-controlled economy based on the needs of society as a whole, socialism.

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

The world we live in is a world where people are divided into classes according to their role in production. The two major classes in society are the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalists own the means of production (factories, machines, etc.) but produce nothing. The workers, on the other hand, receive only meager wages for the sale of their labor power to the capitalists. Almost all production in society is done by the workers. However, almost all the benefits from this production go to the capitalists. The basis for production in this society is profit. The capitalists are not interested in having the workers produce things that people can use or that people need. They are only interested in what makes them the biggest profit. Thus, while the capitalists get richer and richer, the workers are worse off than they were before.

In order to increase profits the capitalists resort to all sorts of techniques which most of us are familiar with: speed-up, wage cuts, unemployment, labor-saving machinery. While, for instance, labor-saving machinery would be progressive in a society run by the workers, it does nothing for them under capitalism. It is just another attack on the workers.

Another feature of capitalist society is war. Every day there is a war going on somewhere in the world. This

is due to the necessity of the capitalists to wage war in order to get ahead of the capitalists in other countries. The working class has no interests in supporting these wars. What the workers want is peace. However, there can be no peace until the capitalists have been removed from power and this society replaced by one run by the workers in the interests of the toiling masses.

To do this, it is not enough to elect people to Congress or as President. The government is nothing more than the executive committee of the ruling class. It is the owners of the big corporations who have the final say as to what goes on. It is necessary to organize our own workers' councils. These councils will be the class rule of the workers after the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. When capitalism goes Congress will go with it. All the democracy surrounding the Congress is just a sham to keep us tied to this system. It is democracy for the rich, for the capitalists. Our democracy will be real democracy, proletarian democracy, the democracy of the many. We do not simply want a workers' government, we want a workers' republic.

In order to throw out the capitalists and build a workers' republic and socialism the working class needs a revolutionary party. Such a party must be based on *The Communist Manifesto*, the first two congresses of the Communist

(Third) International, and the revolutionary work of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Bogdanov. It must be a democratic-centralist party. However, it is not enough to build such a party here in the United States. Capitalism is a world system. Even so-called "Communist" Russia and China are capitalist (state capitalist). In order to wage a successful worldwide struggle against capitalism the workers must have an international party. It is toward the construction of the International Party of Revolutionary Workers (Fourth International) that the Revolutionary Workers Group and *Workers' Truth* are dedicated.

In 1917 the Russian workers seized power under the leadership of the Leninist Bolshevik Party. However, the revolution was isolated and the Russian workers exhausted from the hard struggle in a backward country lost power when the Bolsheviks lost faith in the world proletariat in 1921. The four years of the revolutionary dictatorship still remain, however, as a beacon for workers throughout the world.

Under capitalism the workers are nothing more than menials. We deserve a better life. We deserve socialism. However, it will not be handed to us on a platter. We must fight for it. For if we do not fight for socialism we will be handed barbarism. Socialism or barbarism? *Fight for Socialism!*

What Are We Fighting?

What are we fighting? Who is the enemy? Is it the foreman on the shop floor that we deal with every day? Is it the managers who bargain with our representatives during contract negotiations? Is it the wealthy owners of the banks and big businesses? Or is it something much greater, much more fundamental than these individuals? The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) has raised the question of who the enemy really is? Who and what is the ruling class in this society? And what makes them the ruling class? The kidnapping has also shown that most groups and individuals are thoroughly confused about the answers to these questions.

The SLA first expressed and deepened this confusion by painting a picture of the ruling class as a bunch of mean vicious ogres: sort of like Burl Ives or Orson Welles in the film adaptations of William Faulkner's novels. Then in their kidnapping of a real live member of the ruling class, they contradict their own picture by choosing, not a fire-breathing, cigar-smoking magnate, but Patricia Hearst, a sweet, frail, liberal child, sure to win sympathy for the rulers of America in the hearts of the ruled.

The waters have been further muddied by certain "socialist" groups, in particular the Spartacist League. In recent months the SL has been moving more and more in the direction of "respectability." Having milked the New Left virtually dry through the use of a "hard" sectarian veneer over its essentially opportunist politics, the Spartacist League is in the process of allowing its reformist appetites to come to the fore. An example, connected with the subject under discussion, is their view of Patricia Hearst's class position in society, and their attitude toward defense of the SLA from capital-

ist "justice". First they have this to say regarding Ms. Hearst's role in society:

...Patricia Hearst, who unlike her father, is guilty of no known crime against the working people and whose only recorded political comment is that her father's newspaper was irrelevant...

Then they compare her kidnapping with the reactionary kidnapping of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics, saying that her kidnapping:

...has more in common with the completely indefensible...kidnapping of Israeli athletes than it does with, say, a bomb attempt by populist terrorists against one of the Russian tsars in the late 19th century...

This is complete confusion. Quite similar in fact to that of the SLA. It appears that the SL, like NEW YORK TIMES columnist Tom Wicker chose to believe the SLA and not Marx as to what the ruling class is (this is to be expected of Wicker, but the SL has pretensions of being Marxist). Thus they find it extremely difficult to understand why a quiet, cinnamon-roll baking, anti-war "flower child" who happens to come from a very wealthy family, is any different from an Israeli athlete who comes from a middle class or working

class family. The difference lies in one's CLASS POSITION IN SOCIETY! While it is true that Ms. Hearst is not "guilty of the crimes of her father", likewise her father is not guilty of the crimes of Nelson Rockefeller (who is also, by the way, not guilty of the crimes of his father). But what does that prove? Is one a member of the ruling class because of one's own evil, criminal intentions? For an inherent hatred of workers? Ridiculous! As Marx wrote in his Preface to CAPITAL:

I paint the capitalist and landlord in no sense couleur de rose. But here

individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class-relations and class-interests....

And this in the final analysis is the real enemy: capitalist production relations. The members of the ruling class are prisoners of their own system. It is not necessarily they as individuals who must be eliminated, but their ROLE IN SOCIETY, their role as accumulators of surplus-value, as exploiters. If we should manage to exterminate the entire capitalist class (as it exists today) without reconstructing society on qualitatively different productive relations, we would have failed.

Take China for instance. The Chinese ruling class of prior to the 1949 civil war was virtually eliminated by 1956, but what really changed in Chinese society? The Chinese workers continue to work for low wages. Surplus-value is still accumulated as capital in the state industries. The Chinese state is still an instrument of repression AGAINST the working class. China is today as capitalist under Mao as it was under Chiang Kai-Shek; and it will continue to be capitalist until the working class itself seizes the power and begins to replace the present productive/distributive relations with socialist productive/distributive relations. They must replace wage-labor, war/profit-based planning and the market with workers' self-management of production, planning based on social need and carried out by the social collective (everyone) and direct distribution of goods and services through consumers' co-operatives.

In order to do this what is necessary is not simply a change in political regimes, but the complete overturn of present productive/distributive relations,

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